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alive (sororal polygyny) is an awesome idea, for it implies the sororate to them or wish for the death of a present wife.

In a few upper class households there are concubines who have the status of female slaves. These act as servants to the wives of the household and are used by the household head as sexual partners "any time you ask," as one informant put it. They are spoken of as being "half a wife." This refers to the fact that the husband gives them one half the amount of everything given to a wife. Generally they are too low in status to compete with the wives of the household unless they are considered exceptionally beautiful, or if they have given birth while the wife has not, and the child is recognized as that of the concubine. One informant very clearly explained his possession of concubines in economic terms. His household, he said, was very large, and he regularly fed twenty to forty people per day. This figure often increased to fifty or sixty on special occasions. The work of preparing so much food on time and regularly was simply too much for his wives, so he always has a number of concubines to help with the catering problems associated with his high status in the community.

Why do men want to get married? In answering this question men constantly reiterate cooking, food producing, and child-bearing. Cooking—to the unmarried man—is a most important point. Men never cook and if a man has no wife he must eat his food in the household of a relative or neighbor who is already married. This produces obligations by the unmarried man towards the married men which must be repaid with some service such as farm labor or running messages which signifies subordination. Thus a man with a wife can create obligation among unmarried men or at least avoid becoming obliged in this way to others. This is not, of course, the whole story. Women are also prized for their work in the fields. Indeed men estimate an annual increase or decrease in crop yield by referring, among other things, to the loss or gain of a wife.

Women on the other hand want wealth, although they often want freedom as well and more power in marriage than the culture allows for. This leads to trouble. But before we go into marriage itself, let us look at an actual case in which a man decides to marry.

Modu was twenty-six years old. He had been married twice; once for a period of nine months, then divorced and single again, then married a second time for a year and a half. In this he is no different from the vast majority (as high as eighty to ninety percent) of young Kanuri men his age. Now he was single again and living next door to his older-half-brother at whose house he was eating his meals. He wanted to take a wife and become independent of his older brother. He chose a new woman in the village about the same age as himself. She was visiting her elder brother who was a minor official in the district court. Minor though he was, his family was well-to-do and Modu was but a country peasant. The woman was beautiful and rather more sophisticated than local country girls, coming as she did from the city. Modu thought her most attractive in every way, even though gossip had it she had been married six or seven times.

Despite the gossip he decided to try and marry her, feeling that her past reputation made her available to the likes of him and not too costly in terms of bride-wealth. Late one afternoon he sent over some kola nuts using an intermediary; often people use old women for such purposes.

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often people use old women for such purposes. He was anxious about the gift and so went to an expert on medicines who gave him a couple of special kola nuts whose magical love potion power would direct the woman to find him irresistible. His confidence thus buoyed up, he visited her himself and they had a short affair. He tasted her cooking, observed her behavior, and after two weeks sent a friend to the older brother to arrange for the marriage payments. Three weeks later, after the marriage was proposed to the *luwali*, (in this case her older brother), the couple were married. Modu was delighted and later assured me that for most of the entire six months they remained married he was quite happy. In the end they quarreled bitterly because his wife was out of the house visiting much too often for him not to be suspicious of her fidelity. Finally he simply told her to pack her things and leave his house.

The case illustrates the ease with which Kanuri men and women moved in and out of marriage—a perfectly normal pattern in Bornu. Bornu is a land where divorces are very common, and a marriage break-up is never the social and psychological catastrophy it can easily be in the west. To understand why we must look more closely at Kanuri married life.

## Married Life

By comparison with western society, Kanuri husbands are at home a great deal. The home is the center of activities where men take their leisure, visit their friends, and receive visitors all day long. If at all possible they carry out their occupational activities in the household making it the central location for their daily work. Such constant contact of husband and wife in the household is rather rare in western society. Paradoxically however, husbands and wives are far less intimate and friendly than they are in the west. In their daily lives, women cook, nurse young children, bring water for the household if there is no well, help in the fields, grow garden crops and maize in the back of the compound, prepare cooked and uncooked foods, make pots, trade, and visit one another to help with the preparation of ceremonies as well as for companionship and hairdressing. Men clear the fields and plant crops, work at a large number of crafts including modern ones such as truck driving or using Singer sewing machines; they also engage in religious activities as specialists, and carry out specialized political, judicial and medical roles.

In upper class families, women are in *purdah* (restricted to the household) and live at the back of the compound furthest away from its entrance. They leave the compound only on rare occasions and even then they must seek the permission of their husbands well in advance. They are usually accompanied on such excursions by servants who may escort the upper class lady half way across the emirate to visit her own family for a ceremony at which her presence is required. On the other hand, peasant women must go to the well at least twice a day for water, and in some villages this means a walk of several miles. These women work on the farm plots of the various members of the household during the short growing season and sell cooked foods. Ordinary women use the occasions away from their husband's households to meet and talk freely with other women, and sometimes, of course, with other men.

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uses it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for more than one generation.

> I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, "... continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances. Another informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two unmarried adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bər-*

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The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate family or compound head, on the one hand, and the master instructor on the other. If there is a recognized kinship link between the boy and his future teacher and the compound head, then arrangements are much looser than if this is not the case. In the latter situation there is generally hard bargaining over the terms of the relationship. In general the boy must live in the master's house for a stipulated period helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the occupational specialization of his master. He is a *tada njima,* or son of the house, and refers to his new household head as *abba njima,* or father of the house. He is supposed to act in the situation in the same way as a son acts towards his father. If the master is already a relative, he refers to the apprentice by the appropriate kin term in the manner laid out for such relationships within the culture, although he has added authority in this particular situation. Arrangements in such cases are often made early in the boy's life and last longer, coming closer in effect to a true adoption. A number of men reported having difficulty ending such relationships when they wish to go out on their own, especially when the master is also related by kinship to the apprentice. On the other hand, all Kanuri accept subordination as the means to valued ends. The following case will give some idea of the details involved in such a relationship.

A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years of age had previously been apprenticed to a seller of kola nuts. However he decided to give it up because it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed able to collect all the money owed to him. His full brother in Maiduguri who had been his wholesale supplier advised him to return to their home town and become a barber. The older brother claimed that it was a good occupation and furthermore one of the barbers back in Magumeri needed an apprentice since his own son was as yet too young to help in the work. The young boy returned to Magumeri to ask the barber about it and then completed his own arrangements for the apprenticeship. He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became his apprentice. He could visit the compound in which his mother lived and attend his own farm plots. But he had to cultivate the barber's land, gather grass for the horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his *abba njima.* The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working sometimes with his master, sometimes alone.[3] By rights all the proceeds earned during that year were supposed to be given to the master barber. Naturally he pocketed an occasional fee but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and also his projected career as a barber. The senior could, had he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber's tools. The barber clothed and fed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events such as naming ceremonies he was given a small tip by the household head because of his role as the barber's apprentice. This he kept for himself. In 1957 he moved into the compound occupied by his mother in Magumeri. He still considers himself a *tada njima* of the

[3] Like many peoples of West Africa, the wider Islamic world, and even Europe not so long ago, the Kanuri believe that taking out a little blood can rid a person of various ailments. They do this by making a few shallow incisions, then sucking the blood into a cattle horn.

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883 868 571 159 305 592 [304] barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions, and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to perform some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 868 571 592 834 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would return home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 867 105 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

## Maturity

885 192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married

885 196 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

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438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
571 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

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their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

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ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

## Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

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are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

## The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

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farm. If Kachella Abba were to leave Magumeri, Monadu feels he would move with him. This would not impair his relationship to the salt supplier since that man lives in Maiduguri where he would still have to go to obtain wholesale salt. He says Kachella Abba is his "father" and he would and must serve him and give him respect even though the two men are nearly the same age.

BUKAR, THE "TADA NJIMA" Another example of retailing that shows how it is often imbedded into a more general relationship is that of Bukar. Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about the village of Magumeri with a tin of cellophane-wrapped candies. One of the village's household heads goes in and out of the city regularly on messages for the native administration. When in the city he buys a tin or two of candy and brings these back to Magumeri. The boy, Bukar, is about twenty years old; he is not related by descent or marriage to the senior man but lives in his compound and is fed and clothed by the household head. When the senior rides horseback in ceremonies the boy carries his spear and walks behind the horse; he gathers grass for the horse, runs messages for the household head, carries water for the household, and works on the household farm-plots. Receipts from the candy sale are given to the household head who then gives Bukar a small amount for himself. Here the retailing of candy is only one aspect of the relationship between Bukar and his household head. He refers to his superior, the household head, as *abba njima* or father of the house, and says of him, "He is just like my father."

AJIMI, THE KOLA NUT SELLER Next we see a wholesaler who sells directly to retailers in an ancient trade that has always allowed for middlemen by the score because of the vast distances over which it is carried out. Ajimi is a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six who lives with his brothers in a small hamlet just outside Magumeri. For the six to nine months a year when farming is slack, and intermittently while he is farming, Ajimi sells kola nuts to local retailers. Ajimi gets the money from his father's older brother in the city and then buys a *kwando*, a large rope wrapped package of nuts. A kwando costs about sixty to seventy dollars and contains roughly 7000 to 8000 nuts. He buys the nuts from traders in the city who ship them into Maiduguri from other parts of Nigeria and West Africa.

Ajimi visits three or four of these traders regularly about twice a month in the dry season. He always goes to all of them, inspects their goods, talks prices, and then decides where to place his order. He does this for two reasons. First there is always some variety in price and quality and he must try to get the best he can of both. Secondly, by going to these same suppliers, among dozens of possible ones, he feels he can build up their confidence in him by selling his stuff well and steadily. Indeed, several of the suppliers have on occasion given him an extra kwando on credit and he kept the profits for himself.

Generally Ajimi brings the nuts back in time for Magumeri Sunday market and attends the Thursday and Monday markets as well at nearby towns. He can sell a kwando to retailers in about two weeks and make a profit of about thirty dollars, half of which he gives to his father's older brother who supplied the original money. Thus he makes about fifteen dollars for two weeks of wholesaling—if he is lucky and sagacious in his relations to retailers. Retailers can go to several suppliers like Ajimi. They decide on the basis of quality of the nuts, on the price, and whether they can obtain credit when they need it. The most flexible and negotiable of these is credit, and Ajimi has his most difficult time trying to compete on this

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level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

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man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the past few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

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ried he must decide where he will set up a house. There are three possible alternatives: (a) he can bring his wife into the house of his father or older brother, or patron whoever the superior man might be; (b) he can set up his own compound close by; or (c) he can move further away and become independent or subordinate to someone else. The decision depends upon whether or not the young man is benefiting from the previous relationship, in which case he usually stays in or near the original compound, or whether he believes himself to be suffering from it, in which case he moves or tries to move away, or near to someone more powerful, influential, and economically beneficent with whom he can associate. The decision is often a very complicated one because myriads of other factors enter into it. Thus if there is a large age discrepancy between a younger man and his older brother, and the father is dead, the younger one may feel that his older brother will never treat him as a man but always as a "young boy." Or if there are brothers and some are full (same mother, same father) while some are half (only one parent in common) then the half brothers are less close and are usually linked to different groups of people through their mothers. One young man told me confidentially that he was worried about whether his father would continue to be successful and whether he should not try to use some of his father's powerful connections in Bornu to become the client of a more important person whose position was even more impressive and more secure than that of his own parents. On the other hand many people would speak about leaving home and setting up households on their own or under influential men and never seem to get around to doing it. When asked about this they replied that this was their home, these were their relatives, and whether it was beneficial or not they ought to stay with their kinsfolk. For them blood is thicker than water, that is to say, they feel their roots in a kinship unit must be the eventual determinant of where they spend their lives.

It is these processes of household growth, and associations between households, that underlie the formation of small-scale political units in Kanuri society. The process can best be seen by observing a real life situation. About three miles southwest of Magumeri is the small hamlet of Gworongo (population circa 250–300) which falls within the boundaries of Magumeri village area. Surrounding the hamlet are small bramble-fenced plots of a special crop called *gworongo* which gives the hamlet its name. This plant is used by women as a stimulant and cosmetic along with tobacco flowers. In 1953 one of these farmers, a man named Aji, moved out of the hamlet and set up a compound near his plots of gworongo. He says he wished to be closer to his fields; others gossiped that he had quarreled with the hamlet head of Gworongo over taxes. With him moved his two wives, a younger brother, and the latter's wife, and two unmarried sons. One of these sons left about a year later to go and live in Maiduguri with his father's younger brother. The other son married in 1957 and brought his wife to live in the compound near his father. A stranger to Gworongo hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile to the north of the settlement. He had no wife at the time and asked Aji if he could build a hut near the new settlement and take his meals in Aji's compound. For this hospitality he helped Aji on the *gworongo* plots, prepared household fences, and sometimes gathered grass for Aji's horse. He has since married with both a loan and some gifts from Aji and is now a settled member of the new "community-in-the-becoming." He says that Aji is his *abba njima*, and he is a tada njima or client of the settlement head.

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and he is a *tada njima* or client of the settlement head. All residents of this new settlement look upon its founder as their local leader. Disputes between members are always taken to Aji before going to any higher authorities while disputes with outsiders follow the general Bornu rule of going first to a political leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settlement does not have a name; however in all likelihood if it continues to grow and Aji's place is taken by one of his heirs, either his brother or his son, it will be called Aji or Ajiri after its founder. At present Aji collects taxes from the men of the new community, and these are taken by the hamlet head of Gworongo to the head of Magumeri village area. Aji hopes that one day he will be able to take the taxes directly to Magumeri, thus helping to indicate his equal political status to that of the hamlet head of Gworongo. When that happens he will be a recognized bullama or head man of a hamlet or ward. He tries to take disputes directly to Magumeri village, but in 1957 this was not accepted and the hamlet head of Gworongo was invariably called to sit in on such discussions.

The same process can be seen operating in larger villages. In Magumeri village itself one ward under its bullama (ward or hamlet head) was, in 1957, becoming large enough so that people were beginning to speak of the possibility of its splitting into two under the old bullama and a new one. In the ward a man named Kachella has under his authority the compounds of several younger full brothers, three of his sons two of whom are married, several nephews, and a few unrelated clients who say they are his *tada njima*. He collects taxes from these compounds and takes the money directly to the village head of Magumeri. However he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first before taking the matter to a higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the ward head and this helps link the two households. The ward head seems tolerant of the rising power and influence of his neighbor and always consults him on any major decision affecting the ward. Eventually however, if the set of linked households under the authority of Kachella continues to expand, then he will become a recognized bullama of his own ward of the village and the office will be passed on to his heirs.

## The Village Area

The village area in Bornu includes a major settlement which gives the area its name and a set of surrounding smaller hamlets that are included within the political boundaries of the village area. Thus Magumeri village area includes the village of Magumeri and a series of little hamlets in the surrounding countryside. As we have seen, smaller villages are divided into wards under bullama and the hamlets surrounding the village each have their own bullama as well. In other words all recognized political leaders under a village area head are called bullama. The head of a village area, that is, the political superior of all bullamas in the village area is called the *lawan*. However the system is flexible and a few large cities such as the capital city of Maiduguri, as well as several other centers with populations over 10,000, have several lawan, each in his own ward of the city. Under these city lawan are sub-wards again under the bullama. Thus the traditional nineteenth-cen-

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There is no doubt that the lawan can punish people for not recognizing his authority. It is this kind of knowledge that make people aware that they must be sensitive to customary demands made of them by a lawan which if not complied with could bring punitive actions from his use of authority. Let me illustrate this by summarizing an interesting case from field notes:

Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat-maker, and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the village he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school who is a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appeals to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the village, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

On one of these occasions during the teacher's absence Bukar borrowed some matting from his mentor for use within his own compound. The lawan in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arab teacher's compound to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked there. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the rest of the mats. Bukar answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting in his own compound and was brought to the lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by the lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned, the lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man, Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by the lawan (the ceremony was now over). In so doing he indicated his support of his client, Bukar, against his fellow upperclass member in the town, namely the lawan.

Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against a Fulani nomad herdsman whose cows had strayed into one of his farm plots and eaten his millet. The case came before the lawan who ruled that, although the Fulani had pulled a knife on Bukar (a serious offense requiring a fine), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cow to wander over Bukar's field and devour his as well as another man's crops, besides causing the argument which made the Fulani pull a knife. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops, and given an extra fine of five shillings which was to be paid to the district head. Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started and besides this he and everyone else knows that pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offense from the fight itself and must be treated as such in court, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanor.

In discussing the matter Bukar's senior, the teacher, explained that lawan was angry at Bukar for his behavior over the mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine, he was told by the teacher to give the money to the lawan and to say that he, Bukar, was a small, insignificant, poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell the lawan that if there was any help that the lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future.

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If the lawan continued to adjudicate against him and gave him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with the lawan but if this were impossible, then higher authorities would be resorted to and the lawan's power bypassed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected but within limits.

Bukar's problem illustrates how a lawan can make reprisals when he feels that there has been some lack of recognition given to his authority by those under his administration. There are a large number of things in land matters, general disputes, ceremonials, divorces, default of bad debts, assault, housing, and commerce that come within his perview and intersect the lives of his people at a great many points and in many vulnerable ways. Therefore to thwart his authority and then remain within the orbit of his power without the possibility of reprisals would be impossible.

Recruitment to the office of the lawan is officially carried out by appointment from the emirate government at the capital. There is an official investiture ceremony at the capital, as in the nineteenth century, in which the lawan receives a turban from the Shehu of Bornu. In general there is a tendency, but only a tendency, for lawans to inherit the position. Thus one of the male heirs of the lawan takes over his household site and becomes the new lawan after his death. A male heir can be anyone in the male line of the lawan although sons seem to be favored. On the other hand many of the village areas have a history in which the office has gone to a number of men based on their particular relationship to the district head, the immediate superior of the lawan in the political hierarchy. Thus there is also a tendency for the lawan to be appointed from the ranks of the incumbent district head's followers so that the office also tends to shift from one agnatic descent group to another in relation to shifts in the person of the district head.

One other factor is important in the succession to a lawan's office. This has to do with the political allegiance of the lawan in the political hierarchy of Bornu emirate. If a lawan dies, or is dismissed, and he is not friendly to a new district head, then whether or not the district head attempts to replace him depends (a) on what are the lawan's political connections beyond that of his official superior, the district head, and (b) whether the new district head can procure the loyalty of the lawan and therefore enlist him into his own following. If a lawan has very powerful friends in the emirate, then the new district head could incur their wrath by getting the lawan out of office. A lawan is removed from his village area headship for a number of reasons although they can all be subsumed under three broad categories. First the political maneuverings of a district head who wishes to replace the lawan with his own followers. Secondly, excessive migration out of the village area, or complaints to higher officials by the peasants against the lawan, and thirdly, failure to raise enough taxes. These may, of course, be interrelated so that, for example, migration out of the village area would be spotted in the tax returns or by complaints resulting from the lawan's plan to cover up by taxing those who remain more than is bearable, thus bringing on complaints. However, if a lawan is responsive to his superiors, and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political system.

## [GEIDAM]

175 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from
634 Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kaigama Zubairu.

175 Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa kabuna who came
634 into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who
554 entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. How-
[167] ever, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili), their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were "Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab, who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar (son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house, with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu", so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the position of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Laminu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

• 175 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary
634 school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and Vac-
554 cinater in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District, where he resided first at Ngəlzerma and later at Damagum. At that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

## [GEIDAM]

159 634 554 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha. The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title, but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of "Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Magumeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Magumeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri; in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 632 634 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him, Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna previously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Yerima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

The personnel who occupy positions in the judiciary, however, are bound to the social system. The Alkalis of Geidam exhibit a pattern in their personal histories, and are representative of specific social strata--the Koranic malams, the Imams and the Alkalis--whose sons follow their fathers and pursue the same goals. Alkali Baba Kura was the son of Imam Komi, the chief Imam at Maiduguri who later became Chief Alkali. He studied the Koran, explanations of the Koran, Hadith (traditions), and Tarikh (chronicles) at his father's house and at the houses of other learned Malams in Maiduguri, and then went to study law at the Kano Law School. He was appointed Alkali for the districts of Magumeri and Gubio when he was only twenty-five years old, at the time when Yerima Mustapha was Ajia of Magumeri, and Yerima became his mentor. Alkali Baba Kura remained in Magumeri for four years. After Yerima moved to Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura was transferred to Geidam. One year later he was elected to serve in the Northern legislature at Kaduna, while continuing on as Alkali of Geidam. Then in August, 1957 he was again promoted, this time to be Inspector of Courts in Maiduguri. He and two other powerful and important Alkalis make up the Shehu's court. This is an extremely important position for so young a man, and Alkali Baba Kura owes much of his success to help which he received from Yerima, although his own family connections were still more important in helping rapidly to further his career. Alkali Baba Kura's older brother is today Imam Ibrahim, having succeeded his father as chief Imam in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961

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followers, or having children. Conversely, peasants who experience a decrease in crop yields attribute this to a loss of personnel in their household (Cohen, 1959: 272-5). Thus increased yields like many other facets of self-improvement in Bornu are based on social relations, not technology, when seen from the peasants' point of view.

Although there is no confirming evidence, another factor may have been operating in this situation. The sudden release from autocratic leadership could have been an expression of the aggression, hostility, and rebelliousness, usually associated with psychological reactions to authoritarian leadership. White and Lippitt (1953: 602) have shown this to be so in their studies of children's clubs, and it may have a much wider application. Whether or not people with a long tradition of autocratic social organization experience these same feelings, with the same intensity is a question which must await further research.

The field worker, Malam Abdulla, was a young man of twenty-two. He had recently graduated from a one-year course at an agricultural technical training college and hoped to rise quickly in the Bornu department. He was, however, blocked by the seniority system which placed over him people with less education than himself. The college officials had evidently made much of the advantages of education and promised the graduates rapid advancement. But, jealousy, nepotism, and his youth held him back, for the moment, from obtaining a higher post. Malam Abdulla deeply resented this, and continually blamed his lot upon the traditional social order of Bornu. He admired European technology, which had given him his hoped-for status, and was also attracted to the western ideology of liberal democracy, with which he had come into contact in secondary school.

His department head, the Agricultural Officer, also admired European technology and culture. He lived in a European house, ate western food, and could on occasion act as a completely acculturated person. That is to say, both the department head, and the field worker indicated a generalized cathexis for western culture, not just its technology.